

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-07 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 EB-07 FEAE-00 OMB-01 ERDA-05

OES-06 /099 W

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R 211443Z JUL 76

FM USMISSION USBERLIN

TO AMEMBASSY BONN

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 2823

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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USEC BRUSSELS 1290

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USBERLIN 1505

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PFOR, WB, GW, UR, EC

SUBJECT: INITIAL SOVIET REACTION TO BERLIN PARTICIPATION IN
EC PARLIAMENT

REFS: A) USBERLIN 1463, B) USBERLIN 1458, C) USBERLIN 1472

1. SUMMARY: SOVIETS HAVE BEGUN SENDING SIGNALS THAT
THEY WILL OBJECT TO ALLIED DECISION TO PERMIT CONTINUED
BERLIN PARTICIPATION IN DIRECTLY ELECTED EUROPEAN
PARLIAMENT. IT IS STILL TOO EARLY TO JUDGE HOW STRONG
THIS OBJECTION WILL BE AND IN PARTICULAR WHETHER IT
WILL GO BEYOND WORDS, BUT SOVIET EMBASSY COUNSELLOR
HAS TOLD BRITISH POLAD THAT HE BELIEVES MOSCOW REGARES
ISSUE AS MORE IMPORTANT THAN FEDERAL ENVIRONMENTAL
OFFICE. WE SUGGEST FOR EMBASSY
CONSIDERATION THAT ALLIES MIGHT MAKE SOMETHING OF A
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PREEMPTIVE DEMARCHE TO SOVIETS AT CHAIRMAN PLAD

LEVEL WHEN WE TAKE STEPS FORMALLY TO AUTHORIZE INDIRECT ELECTION OF BERLIN REPRESENTATIVES TO NEW PARLIAMENT IN ORDER TO EMPHASIZE TO SOVIETS THAT WE WISH NO TROUBLE, HAVE ONLY DONE MINIMUM NECESSARY TO PRESERVE BASIC STATUS QUO, BUT WILL NOT BE PREPARED TO BACK AWAY FROM MODERATE POSITION WE HAVE ADOPTED. END SUMMARY.

2. REF A REPORTED BASTILLE DAY RECEPTION COMMENT OF SOVIET EMBASSY OFFICER CONCERNED WITH EST BERLIN AFFAIRS TO POLAD THAT SOVIETS COULD ACCEPT CONTINUED ECONOMIC COOPERATION OF BERLIN WITH EC BUT PARTICIPATION BY CITY IN COMMUNITY'S POLITICAL PROCESSES SUCH AS A DIRECTLY ELECTED PARLIAMENT WOULD CREATE PROBLEMS. DURING CALL BY CHAIRMAN POLAD (UK) ON OTHER BUSINESS JULY 16, SOVIET EMBASSY COUNSELLOR KHOTULEV EXPOUNDED ON EC PARLIAMENT QUESTION AT SOME LENGTH NOTING THAT HE REGRETTED REPORTS HE HAD SEEN IN PRESS TO EFFECT THAT ALLIES WERE PREPARED TO PERMIT INDIRECTLY SELECTED BERLIN REPRESENTATIVES TO CONTINUE IN EC PARLIAMENT AFTER REST OF THAT BODY WAS DIRECTLY ELECTED IN 1978. BRITISH POLAD SAID HE HAD EXPECTED KHOTULEV TO BE PLEASED SINCE PRESS HAD INDICATED THAT ALLIES HAD RULED OUT DIRECT ELECTION OF BERLIN DEPUTIES. KHOTULEV SAID ALLIED POSITION WAS GOOD AS FAR AS IT WENT BUT THAT HE FORESAW GRAVE TROUBLE FOR ALL CONCERNED IF CITY'S REPS WERE ALLOWED FULL VOTING RIGHTS IN PARLIAMENT. THIS, HE CLAIMED, WAS EXPRESSLY FORBIDDEN BY QA. BRITISH POLAD ARGUED THAT QA DEALT WITH BERLIN-FRG RELATIONSHIP AND SAID NOTHING ABOUT DEVELOPMENT OF CITY'S RELATIONSHIP WITH EAOPE AS A WHOLE. KHOTULEV DESCRIBED EC AS "CLOSED BLOC OPPOSED TO SOVIET UNION". AT PRESENT, HE SAID, THIS BLOC DEALT ONLY WITH TRADE AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, WHICH WAS BAD ENOUGH, BUT IT WOULD BE INTOLERABLE IF BERLIN WERE ONE DAY TO BE ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE IN POLITICAL DECISIONS AFFECTING EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND CITY'S OWN STATUS. KHOTULEV RAISED SPECTER OF EC DECIDING TO STATION NUCLEAR

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WEAPONS IN BERLIN TO WHICH BRITISH POLAD REPLIED THAT ALLIES WOULD OF COURSE CONTINUE TO TAKE GREATEST CARE TO ENSURE THAT NO DECISIONS OF EC PARLIAMENT COULD AFFECT BERLIN'S STATUS AND THAT SOVIETS WERE CONCERNING THEMSELVES NEEDLESSLY. KHOTULEV REFUSED TO BE MOLLIIFIED, HOWEVER, AND RAISED EUROPEAN PASSPORT PROPOSAL WHICH HE SAID WOULD ALSO BE CONTRARY TO QA. BRITISH POLAD DENIED THAT QA PROHIBITED USE OF

SUCH A PASSPORT, AND KHOTULEV, WHILE TACITLY
ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THERE WAS NO SPECIFIC PROHIBITION
IN QA, SAID IT WOULD REPRESENT UNILATERAL HANGE
IN EXISTING SITUATION. BRITISH POLAD SUGGESTED THAT
IN ALLIED VIEW QA CONFIRMED THAT SITUATION IN
CITY WAS NOT FROZEN FOREVER BUT COULD DEVELOP
NATURALLY. KHOTULEV AGREED THAT SITUATION COULD
NOT REMAIN STATIC BUT CLAIMED THERE WAS NEED TO
CONSIDER BALANCE OF ADVANTAGES. SOVIETS HAD, IN
HIS VIEW, PAID HIGH PRICE FOR QA. WHILE EMPHASIZING
THAT HE WAS SPEAKING PERSONALLY, KHOTULEV CONCLUDED
CONVERSATION BY SAYING THAT HE FEARED HIS GOVERNMENT
WOULD TAKE SIMILAR VIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS AND THAT
EC PARLIAMENT ISSUE WAS OF MUCH GREATER IMPORTANCE
THAN, FOR EXAMPLE, LOCATION OF FEDERAL ENVIRONMENTAL
OFFICE IN BERLIN HAD BEEN IN 1974.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USBERLIN 1505

3. WE HAVE SEEN GERMAN WIRE SERVICE REPORT JULY 19

OF COMMENTARY BY SOVIET GERMAN LANGUAGE RADIO STATION "PEACE AND PROGRESS" WHICH APPEARS TO REFLECT SOME OF KHOTULEV'S THEMES. WHILE CONCEDED THAT BERLIN DEPUTIES TO EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT WOULD NOT BE ELECTED DIRECTLY, STATION CLAIMED THAT IT WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH LEGAL AND POLITICAL STATUS OF CITY FOR BERLIN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO SEND DEPUTIES TO STRASBOURG, PARTICULARLY AS PART OF FRG DELEGATION. COMMENTATOR CHARGED THAT UK AND FRANCE, BOTH SIGNATORIES TO QA, HAD DISREGARDED AND VIOLATED QA BY VOTING IN BRUSSELS TO PERMIT BERLIN REPRESENTATION AND SAID THAT THIS WAS "A SERIOUS BUSINESS WITH DANGER OF EXPLOSION" WHICH WOULD NOT REMAIN WITHOUT CONSEQUENCES.

4. COMMENT: IT IS PREMATURE TO VENTURE GUESS AS
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TO HOW FORMALLY SOVIETS WILL EXPRESS THEIR UNHAPPINESS AND HOW FAR THEY MIGHT BE WILLING TO GO TO ATTEMPT TO REVERSE ALLIED DECISION. THEY HAVE IN PAST, FOR EXAMPLE IN CONNECTION WITH ESTABLISHMENT HERE OF EC VOCATIONAL CENTER IN 1975, EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT "SLIPPERY SLOPE" WHEREBY CITY'S RELATIONSHIP TO EC WOULD BE SUBTLY CHANGED BY SERIES OF STEPS, EACH SMALL IN ITSELF, WHICH WOULD LEAVE SOVIETS FACING POLITICAL FAIT ACCOMPLI AT SOME FUTURE DATE. THEY MAY BE TEMPTED, BY MINIMIZING SIGNIFICANCE OF ALLIED DECISION NOT TO PERMIT DIRECT ELECTION OF BERLIN DEPUTIES TO NEW PARLIAMENT AND FOCUSING ON CONTINUED VOTING RIGHTS OF THOSE DEPUTIES AND POSSIBILITY THAT EC PARLIAMENT WILL EVENTUALLY ACHIEVE REAL POLITICAL POWERS, TO TRY TO FORCE ALLIES TO DRAW FIRM LINE NOW BEYOND WHICH WE WOULD NOT ALLOW BERLIN TO PARTICIPATE IN SLOW PROCESS OF EC POLITICAL INTEGRATION. IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT THEY WILL WISH TO POKE AND PROBE A BIT IN ORDER TO DETERMINE HOW FIRM ALLIES ARE ON PRESENT DECISION BEFORE THEY PUT THEIR CARDS ON TABLE.

5. IT OCCURS TO US, THEREFORE, THAT THERE MIGHT BE ADVANTAGE IN ALLIES TAKING INITIATIVE BEFORE SOVIETS FORMALIZE THEIR POSITION TO EXPLAIN THAT WE CONSIDER THAT WE HAVE TAKEN A REALISTIC MINIMUM POSITION TO MAINTAIN STATUS QUO WITH RESPECT TO BERLIN PARTICIPATION IN NEW PARLIAMENT. OCCASION TO DO THIS MIGHT BE WHEN ALLIES ISSUE BK/L OR BK/O FORMALLY AUTHORIZING EC CONVENTION OR COUNCIL REGULATION ON PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS TO BE APPLIED TO CITY. USEC BRUSSELS 7187 INDICATES THAT SPECIAL COUNCIL SESSION

MAY DECIDE JULY 27 WHETHER HEADS OF STATE DECISION ON DIRECT ELECTIONS IS TO BE GIVEN LEGAL FORM BY COUNCIL REGULATION OR BY INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION AMENDING TREATY OF ROME. AS SUGGESTED REF C, IF DECISION IS FOR COUNCIL REGULATION WE MIGHT NEED TO ISSUE ALLIED BK/L OR BK/O RATHER SOON, PERHAPS WITHIN FEW WEEKS. CONVENTION WOULD PROBABLY BE SOMEWHAT SLOWER, AND ALLIED DOCUMENT WOULD PROBABLY NOT NEED TO BE ISSUED FOR SEVERAL MONTHS. WE
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WOULD APPRECIATE ANY VIEWS USEC MAY HAVE ON LIKELY TIMETABLE UNDER TWO ALTERNATIVES.) ON OTHER HAND THERE ARE NO PRESENT PLANS FOR POWER OF EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT FORMALLY TO BE INCREASED.

6. WHEN ALLIED BK/L OR BK/O IS READY FOR ISSUANCE, WE SUGGEST THAT ALLIES NOT GIVE IT TO SOVIETS BUT HAVE CHAIRMAN POLAD EXPLAIN WHAT IS IN IT, PARTICULARLY FROMAL RESERVATION OF ALLIED RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES AND REQUIREMENT THAT BERLIN DEPUTIES BE SELECTED NOT BY VOTERS BUT BY BERLIN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. THIS WOULD DEMONSTRATE THAT ALLIES HAD NOT MADE FAR-REACHING DECISION ABOUT WHAT RELATIONSHIP CITY MIGHT OR MIGHT NOT BE ABLE TO HAVE TO EC AT SOME LATER STAGES OF EC POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT, FOR EXAMPLE AT SUCH TIME AS PARLIAMENT MIGHT OBTAIN REAL POWER TO TAKE BINDING DECISION FOR COMMUNITY. SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE EFFECTIVE IF SOVIETS HAD ALREADY DECIDED TO FORCE CONFRONTATION ON LARGER ISSUES OF BERLIN'S TIES TO EC. HOPEFULLY, HOWEVER, SOVIETS WOULD STILL BE IN PROCESS OF SORTING OUT THEIR POLICY AND THEY WOULD BOTH WELCOME APPROACH AS COURTESY AND ALSO READ IT AS SIGNAL THAT, WHILE WE DID NOT CONSIDER THAT STAKES WERE AS HIGH ON THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE AS SOVIETS MIGHT OTHERWISE THINK, WE WOULD BE ALL THE LESS LIKELY TO BACK AWAY FROM WHAT WE REGARDED AS A MODERATE POSITION.

7. WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN EMBASSY REACTION TO POSSIBILITY OF ALLIES ADVISING SOVIETS AT CHAIRMAN POLAD LEVEL OF OUR BK/L OR BK/O WHEN THAT DOCUMENT IS READY FOR ISSUANCE IN ORDER TO ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE DEVELOPMENT OF FORMAL SOVIET POSITION.
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